

PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

Palestine Research and Educational Center

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DAVID ROBERT'S VIEW OF HEBRON IN 1839

Editorial Editorial Editorial

PAX ISRAELICA

Israeli cabinet minister Ariel Sharon recently clarified Israel's concept of peace with the Arabs. He told a Likud election rally in Haifa that his party, which came to power in Israel in 1977, wanted peace. Then he continued to explain: "Whoever wants to make peace with us can have it with our present borders, and if they do not like them—hard luck. What the Likud offers in return for peace is peace." Let us not be distracted by the fact that neither Sharon, nor his Likud party, nor the Zionist movement as a whole have ever accepted the idea that even the present "borders" represent the ultimate territorial limits of "the land of Israel," and concentrate instead on Sharon's proposition. What is he saying?

Without mincing words, Sharon is saying that Israel prefers territorial conquest to peaceful coexistence. He is saying that the Arabs must accept the finality of the destruction and elimination of Palestine. He is saying that the Arabs must legitimize Israel's territorial greed. Above all, Sharon is saying that this is the only way the Arabs can escape further Israeli armed assault against them. If the Arabs concede to us their conquered lands, Sharon is saying, then and only then will they be allowed to live in peace.

In reality *this is a threat rather than an offer*. What Sharon is saying is that the Arabs do not need to harm or even threaten Israel to provoke its wrath; they only have to refuse to bless Israel's latest conquests.

One may console himself, of course, by dismissing Sharon's views as the ravings of a fanatic. Unfortunately, there

are three things wrong with this assurance. One, is that the raving fanatic is in power along with a whole crew of raving fanatics. Second, is that they got there through a popular vote of Israeli society. And third, Sharon's concept of "peace" is expressed more crudely, but in substance it does not differ materially from the concept of peace long held by the entire Zionist establishment. What Sharon is crudely articulating is an Israeli-Zionist formula for Arab-Israeli "coexistence."

Several years ago, I thought it might be useful to address an Israeli public. I wrote an article on Arab-Jewish coexistence and sent it to the liberal Israeli journal *New Outlook*, which praised my analysis but gently declined to publish it on the grounds that the magazine did not publish satire. The title of my article was "Piggyback Coexistence."

Briefly, what I said in my article was as follows: There are two possible kinds of coexistence among groups of people. Horizontal coexistence, where people live together side-by-side as equals. This is the kind of coexistence the Palestinians had in mind when they offered the Israelis to live with them in a common Palestinian homeland within the framework of a democratic nonsectarian state. And there is vertical coexistence, also known as "piggyback coexistence," where one people rides on the back of another—as in South Africa, and as in Israel. I hoped to call to the attention of my Israeli readers that the Arabs find piggyback coexistence in Palestine just as wrong and as demeaning as the world finds it to be repugnant in South Africa.

Sharon shows that this message has not been received in Israel yet. □

M. Hallaj

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THE SECULAR MESSIANISTS

Amos Elon

(In this column, the well-known Israeli writer Amos Elon explains the roots of Jewish terrorism against the people of occupied Palestine. He says that in addition to religious fanaticism, the Jewish terrorists are manipulated by Israeli politicians in their competition with each other, and are encouraged by an Israeli political leadership which itself has deep roots in terrorist behavior. This article first appeared in the Israeli daily newspaper Ha'aretz of June 1, 1984):

Already today, for all the differences and variations, there is something in Judea-Samaria [West Bank] that brings to mind Algeria of the fifties. In Algeria all attempts at reconciliation initiated by the central government were torpedoed—in the first place by those same European colonists whom Paris wished to protect. There, too, the settlers paid lip service to “coexistence” but in their day-to-day behavior were racist, as even their staunch defender, former minister Jacques Soustelle,¹ who went underground on their behalf, complained....

We hear much talk about the religious roots of the Jewish terrorist underground. Its secular roots are also worth examining. It is true that many of the suspects in the latest round of arrests sprang from the hothouse “redemptionist” climate of a number of respectable yeshivot² in Jerusalem and in the [occupied] territories, where a near-Sabbatean atmosphere (against which the late Gershom Scholem warned untiringly) reigned, one of “messianism” and divinification of the land, sanctification of violence and a mystification of force. In the Merkaz Harav yeshiva in Jerusalem, the tone was set by Rabbi Zvi Yehuda Kook. One of those who knew him, the writer Haim Be’er, has said of him that “like the Ayatollah Khomeini, he flourished near the end of his days, in a dark and frightening efflorescence.... An ascetic, lacking all self-restraint... his face painfully contorted and his sclerotic gaze... exerting a magus-like influence over his faithful disciples.”

This man, who died two years ago, evidently raised a generation of zealots, “a new Jewish man,” as Haim Be’er puts it, “a Savonarola in a knitted skullcap, wrapped in a prayer shawl and armed with a Kalashnikov; nationalistic, callously trampling down the watermelon beds of the Arabs of Samaria and uprooting the vineyards of Hebron,” all the while trailing clouds of purity and specious words; “the immaculate divine soul,” convinced that he is “the crown of creation, the very acme of ‘spirituality’ and ‘soulfulness’ than which there is no higher.”

That seems to be the “religious” background of the terrorist underground: a witches’ brew of atavistic ritual and crass superstition. But for all the arcane mumblings, the morbid fetishism of graves and the dead and sacred stones, let us not lose sight of the secular manipulators behind the messianic maelstrom who pulled the strings and were not displeased by the result, apparently for purely political reasons. The late Yigal Allon³ helped to implant Rabbi Levinger⁴ in Hebron for reasons of personal aggrandizement alone, jockeying with Moshe Dayan. Other pupils of Yitzhak Tabenkin



formed a kind of “Gush Emunim-sans-skullcaps.” They were Menachem Begin’s “beloved children.” Arik Sharon gave them rifles and integrated them in what is known as “regional defense.” Rafael Eitan, who pardoned murderers, fed brute racism with pronouncements about “a cancer in the [nation’s] body” and “cockroaches in bottles.”⁵ Yitzhak Shamir views the terrorists as errant youngsters who “overdid” their love for the Land of Israel.

The country’s rulers are themselves the product of a terrorist underground. They still celebrate its exploits in countless ceremonies, through commemorative postage stamps and in elementary school textbooks. Their past is in their bones. What does it do to their judgement, their sensibilities? Mark Segal recently reported in *The Jerusalem Post* that when the Italian Ambassador in Tel Aviv responded, not long ago, to an invitation to a State dinner in the Knesset(!), he found—too late—that the occasion was the anniversary of the blowing-up of the British Embassy in Rome by the Irgun. It never even occurred to the former assailants and present hosts—Deputy Minister Dov Shilansky and the Prime Minister’s Secretary Yehiel Kadishai—that they might be embarrassing anyone. Compounding the discomfort of the ambassador and his wife was the fact that the building blown up was, it so happened, also the house of the ambassador’s parents-in-law which they had leased at the time to the British. □

EDITORIAL NOTES

¹ Jacques Soustelle was a French army officer who led the French settlers terrorist underground in opposition to Gaullist policies favoring the independence of Algeria.

² Yeshiva (plural: Yeshivot) is the Hebrew word for Jewish religious academy.

³ Yigal Allon served as a Cabinet Minister and Deputy Prime Minister in several Labor governments.

⁴ Rabbi Moshe Levinger is a leader of Gush Emunim, the Jewish extremist settlement movement in the West Bank.

⁵ Expressions used repeatedly by former Chief of Staff Rafael Eitan when referring to the Palestinian people.



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THE IDEOLOGY OF SETTLER TERRORISM

Shukri B. Abed

Tragedy was averted in Jerusalem on April 27, 1984 when large explosive devices that were attached to five Arab-owned buses were discovered and detonated. Three of these buses were to have transported Arab workers to Israel, a fourth was to have carried tourists, and a fifth, Palestinian school children.

This incident is a frightening reminder of scores of violent acts committed by Jewish settlers against the unarmed Palestinian population living under Israeli occupation in the West Bank and Gaza since 1967. The Jewish settlers hold their government responsible, arguing that it is the government's failure to provide them with adequate protection that has forced them to take up arms in their own defense. There are two major fallacies, however, with this argument, which is routinely used by the settlers to justify their vigilante activities. The first is that their violent acts are acts of self-defense. The second is that the Israeli government provides little or no protection for the Jewish settlers. In fact, the settlers' vigilantism in the occupied territories is a logical consequence of their ideology. Furthermore, the government's support for the settlers and their activities, far from being inadequate, amounts to a tacit sponsorship.

Yori Heller, a leader of Hahashmona'im (a radical arm of the rightest settler movement, Gush Emunim) has summarized the basic tenets of the settlers' ideology as follows: "There are three commandments which dictate our activity: to crown a king, to eliminate 'Amalek, and to build the Third Temple' (*Ha'olam Hazeh*, December 28, 1983). These aims may seem innocuous enough as vague Biblical dictums, but their implications for the occupied Arab territories are grave and frightening.

Building the Third Temple, for example, is a major theme in the philosophy of all the right wing groups in Israel. Religious and non-religious organizations are acting towards the same purpose, a purpose that includes destroying holy places belonging to Christians and Muslims as a preparation for building the Third Jewish Temple. These groups and organizations are collectively known as "The Temple Mount Connection."

The intermingling of spiritual aims with worldly political ambitions extends far beyond this obsessive interest in the Third Temple. Evidence for this may be seen from the fact that many prominent leaders of right wing settlers' groups are rabbis, such as Rabbi Moshe Levinger of Kiryat Arba' and Rabbi Meir Kahane (founder of the Kach movement in Israel and of the Jewish Defense League in America). The 45 Israelis who were arrested on March 10-11, 1983, in connection with a plot to "settle" in the al-Aqsa Mosque, were meeting at the time of the arrest in the house of Rabbi

Yisrael Ariel. Levinger and another Rabbi Eliezer Waldman (a candidate for the Knesset of the right wing Tzohar party) are suspected of "prior knowledge of certain operations against the Arabs" (*Ha'aretz*, May 25-28, 1984). In fact, Yoel Lerner, one of the most notorious Jewish terrorists, revealed during a recent interview with *Ha'aretz* (May 25, 1984) that he consulted with Rabi Zvi Yehuda Kook about the Biblical justifications for the terrorist acts he committed. To quote Lerner, "I never disobeyed him." Since the death of Rabbi Kook, Lerner has by his own admission discovered a new spiritual mentor whose name he refuses to reveal but with whom he consults on a regular basis.

What is the nature of these "Biblical justifications" for terrorist acts? Shortly after Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza in 1967, a group of seventy-three religious Jews led by Rabbi Levinger, arrived at the Palestinian city of Hebron and declared their intention to "renew their connection with the city of Abraham" by celebrating Passover there. They then refused to leave and eventually built a Jewish suburb of Hebron, called Kiryat Arba'. More recently the settlers have begun to move into Hebron itself, beginning with the occupation of Beit Hadassah by Mrs. Levinger and a group of her followers on April 15, 1979.

What happened in Hebron is only a microcosm of the Zionist expansionism being carried out on a large scale by the state of Israel, under the guise of "security measures" and a biblical "manifest destiny," according to which Eretz Yisrael includes not only present-day Israel, but also the Sinai, the Golan, the West Bank and Gaza, all of Jordan, and the South of Lebanon.

Biblical and Talmudic texts are further used to justify the murder of Palestinians and their expulsion from "Eretz Yisrael." The term "Amalek" used by Heller in his summary of the settlers' basic commandments refers to an ancient biblical enemy of the Tribes of Israel, that stubbornly opposed their entry into Palestine (Judges 10:12, I Samuel 15:2). This term has been transferred along with all its emotional connotations to the present-day Palestinians. That "elimination" of the Amalek/Palestinians is the settlers' ultimate goal is clear from ideological treatises such as Rabbi Kahane's *They Must Go*, which outlines arguments in favor of expulsion of the Arabs. David Rosenzweig expresses this view succinctly in *Nikudah* (December 23, 1983): "There is no room for the Arabs in the Jewish State."

Most recently a Talmudic text was quoted by the Chief Rabbi of the Saphardic (Eastern Jewish) community as a justification for the murder of an 11-year-old Palestinian girl from Nablus. The gist of the passage is that you should kill your enemy before he kills you. He is reported to have said that the Talmudic injunction takes this idea further by arguing that if you can see from a child's eyes that he will become your enemy, you have the right to kill him.

This absurd definition of "self-defense" justifies, in the minds of settlers and their supporters, flagrant disregard for the rights of others, a view expressed bluntly in *Nikudah* (September 3, 1983):* "Our considerations should be based exclusively on what is useful [for the Jews] and what is not useful, rather than on any humanitarian considerations which have no room here since according to the Jewish Religious Law (Halachah) there is no room for humanitarian attitudes towards enemies."

As to the settlers' second claim that the government's

protection of them is inadequate, it must be said that the government in fact supports them at least implicitly. There is increasing support for and even involvement in the settlers' activities within the Israeli security forces (both military and police).

A recent report from Israel (*Ha'aretz*, May 13, 1984) indicates that one of the suspects in the Arab buses case, who is a pilot in the Israeli air force and a settler in the Golan Heights, admitted that he and other settlers had planned to use an Israeli jet fighter in order to bomb the Muslim holy shrine of al-Aqsa Mosque. The only reason, the report says, that the plan was not executed was the planners' fear that the operation might damage the Jewish wailing wall. Furthermore, some of the 25 suspects being held now as members of what has become known as the "Jewish underground" admitted that the operation against three Arab mayors in June 1980, was carried out with full cooperation of some Israeli army officers who provided the perpetrators with political and logistic support (*Ha'aretz*, May 11, 1984).

Further evidence of cooperation between military and police officers on the one hand and the settlers on the other, comes from an official Israeli document prepared by an Israeli commission headed by Judith Karp, the Deputy Attorney General of Israel. In this report the commission severely criticizes the Israeli security forces for "not honoring—as they might have been expected to do—the commitment given to the Supreme Court regarding awareness of what goes on in sensitive areas, so as to prevent illegal action as far as possible." The commission also charges the security forces of carrying out the investigations against Jewish suspects "in an ambivalent manner... This ambivalence stems mainly from external interference on the part of military government personnel, in giving orders concerning the actual opening of investigation and related matters, such as release from detention."

Also, ideological contributions by Begin, Shamir, Sharon, Ne'eman (Minister of Science) and Eitan (the former chief of staff) and many other Israeli officials to the anti-Arab atmosphere in the occupied territories cannot be denied. A report published by the former head of the Israeli secret services, Abraham Ahitov, underscores this point. Mr. Ahitov charged that the way the government dealt with the question of the Jewish settlements created "a psychological step for the emergence of Jewish terrorism among the settlers who reached the conclusion that they need not worry about the result of confrontation with the Government—they became convinced that whoever has the might is right" (*Ha'olam Haze*, January 4, 1984). Recently, Rabbi Levinger was asked whether he was considering running for the Knesset as a representative of the settlers and he replied that "there is no need for that since there are more than sixty members of the Knesset who understand our point of view and are sympathetic to our cause" (*Ha'aretz*, May 25, 1984).

Without official Israeli support settler vigilantism could not have flourished. Without the Sharons, Begins, and the Eitans, the Kahanes, and the Levingers would not have existed. □

**Nikudah* is recommended reading to the Jewish communities abroad by the Israeli Foreign Ministry.



PLO UNITY AGREEMENT

The PLO officially announced the successful conclusion of the inter-Palestinian dialogue to restore unity within the Palestinian national movement. The announcement was made by Abu Jihad (Khalil al-Wazir), Fateh's representative to the negotiations, in a press conference in the Algerian capital after the agreement reached in Aden on June 26 was signed on July 13, 1984.

The agreement outlines a broad Palestinian consensus on organizational and political issues which troubled and threatened PLO unity for more than a year. With the approval of the main political groups which comprise the PLO (Fateh, the PFLP, the DFLP, the Palestinian Liberation Front, and the Palestinian Communist Party), the agreement opens the way for a broad Palestinian national coalition, and prepares the ground for the development of a broad Palestinian agreement on a political program for the PLO during the coming seventeenth session of the Palestine National Council (PNC).

Abu Jihad called the agreement "a new page" in Palestinian struggle, and "an important step on the road of protecting and consolidating the achievements of the PLO, which came as the result of sacrifices by scores of thousands of martyrs, prisoners, injured, and homeless." He called on the Palestinian people and their supporters in the region and the world to rally around the Palestinian revolution and its struggle on behalf of Palestinian national rights. Following are the main provisions of the agreement:

Political Provisions

1. The Occupied Territories: To assist the people of the occupied territories' steadfastness in the face of Israeli repression and terrorism, and their ability to resist Israeli practices of land seizure and settlement which aim to evict our people and to annex the occupied areas. To protect the unity of our people and to prevent external problems and pressures from undermining their solidarity. To revive the Palestinian National Front and to empower it to lead the popular struggle against the occupation, and to depend on it for the distribution of aid to the occupied territories.

2. Palestinian-Egyptian Relations: Arafat's visit to Cairo represented a violation of PNC resolutions, and the PLO is not bound by any implications of this visit for which there is to be accountability within the framework of the legitimate PLO institutions. Relations with the Egyptian regime are to be on the basis of its renunciation of the Camp David policy.

3. Relations with Jordan: To refrain from joint political moves with Jordan which would detract from the status of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people; and rejection of the reconvening of the Jordanian parliament, which conflicts with the 1974 Rabat resolutions. Rela-

(continued on page 5)

tions with Jordan are to be based on the resolutions of the 16th session of the PNC, and the rejection of the Reagan Plan, the "Jordanian option," or any other scheme which detracts from the Palestinian people's inalienable rights, including their right of return, self-determination, and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state under the leadership of the PLO.

4. Palestinian fighting in 1983: The resort to arms to forcibly impose solutions to disputes within the revolution conflicts with PNC resolutions, which assert the principles of democratic dialogue, and harms the solidarity of the revolution. All attempts to split the PLO, or to fake an alternate leadership for it are unacceptable.

5. Palestinian-Syrian Relations: The need for joint Palestinian-Syrian struggle against Israeli aggression, and the need for appropriate measures to strengthen confidence and cooperation between the Palestinian revolution, Syria, and the Lebanese nationalist forces. Mutual respect for the principles of independence, equality, and noninterference in internal affairs.

6. Lebanon: The need to strengthen the Lebanese nationalist-Palestinian-Syrian alliance, and to regulate relations with the Lebanese nationalist forces to ensure the security of the Palestinians in Lebanon and to safeguard their rights, including the rights to engage in political action, to carry arms and to join the revolution. To guarantee the PLO's rights and institutions, and to engage in joint action with the Lebanese nationalist forces against the Zionist occupation forces. To reactivate all PLO institutions in Lebanon.

Organizational Issues

The Palestine National Council: Recognition of the Palestinian Communist Party as a group entitled to representation in the PNC.

The Central Council: To be directly elected by the PNC, and to be granted the power to make decisions. Its powers are to include supervision of the Executive Committee's implementation of PNC resolutions, and the suspension of membership in the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee: All factions represented in the PNC will be represented on the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee will elect deputies to the Chairman. A general secretariat will be formed to comprise collective action leadership responsible for daily decisions.

Other Matters

Palestinian popular organizations and PLO institutions will be reorganized to combine factional representation and merit. The Executive Committee will form a special committee to study the conditions of PLO departments, offices and institutions and to make recommendations to the Executive Committee.

The agreement calls for a global Palestinian dialogue to bolster PLO unity. The PNC should be convened by 15 September 1984.

Falestine Althawra, the PLO monthly, commented editorially on the Aden agreement by saying that it ensured Pales-

tinian unity by securing not only numerical, but also organizational majority for a political and organizational program. Moreover, the magazine added, the agreement opened the way for the removal of the friction with Syria, a necessary requirement of Arab consensus.

On the other hand, the Palestinian dissident factions in Syria attacked the Aden agreement, and accused the "democratic alliance" (consisting of the four groups represented in the dialogue with Fateh) of making concessions and retreating from many positions to which they previously committed themselves.

A large number of Palestinian community leaders representing a broad political spectrum in the occupied West Bank and Gaza expressed their satisfaction and support for the Aden agreement. Many of them felt relief not only because the agreement improved relations between major PLO groups, but also because it eased tension within the Palestinian community in the occupied territories. □

ARAFAT ON PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat held a press conference in Amman, Jordan, on 17 July 1984, and addressed a wide variety of issues pertaining to Palestinian affairs. He said that events proved the impossibility of the destruction of the PLO, and affirmed that peace in the Middle East is unattainable without recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Arab Palestinian people. He spoke on a number of other issues, including the following:

Political settlement: Political solutions do not result from pleas and entreaties but from the balance of forces. For this reason, it is suicidal for the PLO and the Arab states to abandon the military option in the struggle for Arab rights.

International Peace Conference: The Arabs have been calling for an international peace conference on the Middle East since 1973. Europe, the Soviet Union, and China back the UN Secretary-General's call for such a conference. But the U.S. and Zionist Israel oppose the idea because they want to rearrange the region to suit their interests.

PLO Priorities: In this phase of our national struggle, the priorities of the PLO should include the task of rebuilding our nation and revolution, to restore Egypt to its natural leading role in the Arab nation by distancing it from the Camp David policy, and to continue our efforts to put an end to the war between Iraq and Iran.

Relations with Jordan: The PLO and Jordan agreed on a joint strategy to confront Israel's attack on our people in the occupied territories, including Israeli terrorism and the attempt to Judaize the Islamic and Christian holy places.

Relations with Syria: Contacts with Rif'at Assad have never been interrupted, and the visit to Damascus by Abu Lutuf (Farouk Qaddoumi, head of the PLO's Political Department) was positive.

Palestine National Council: It has been agreed to convene the PNC between August 15 and September 15. We are working for a broad Palestinian consensus. □

PFLP OFFICIAL ON ADEN AGREEMENT

In a telephone interview from Damascus with *Al-Watan*, Mr. Bassam Abu Sharif, spokesman of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, praised the Algiers-Aden Agreement between Fateh and the Democratic Alliance. Abu Sharif added that: "This agreement represents a national foundation that can open up more opportunities for achieving national Palestinian unity and for restoring the unity of the PLO."

The PFLP official emphasized that: "One of the most important points contained in the Aden Agreement as far as the organizational structure is concerned, is the establishment of a general secretariat to be responsible for the day-to-day operations of the PLO. The leadership of the PLO is not going to be a one-man show." According to Abu Sharif, this means that the PLO will adopt some kind of collective leadership for the first time.

In reply to the recent statements by Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf) concerning Palestinian-Syrian relations, Abu Sharif said: "We believe that the alliance between the PLO and Syria is a central issue and that any national Arab forces seeking to confront U.S. designs in the Arab region must establish an alliance with Syria." □

PALESTINE IN SOVIET ART

It is not unusual for an Arab or foreign painter to depict an aspect of Palestine's tragedy in his or her art. But Namik Zinalov, the 37-year-old Soviet artist from Azerbaijan, has made Palestine the main theme of his paintings. He has already completed 23 paintings depicting the tragedy and heroism of the Palestinian people, which he recently exhibited in Baku. Next September, he plans an exhibit of 50 Palestinian paintings in a one-man exhibit sponsored by the Federation of Soviet Painters.

In an interview with the Palestinian weekly *Falestine Althawra* (March 17, 1984), the Soviet artist made the following statements about his Palestinian art:

■ Recently I became aware, through the media, of the Palestinian tragedy. I learned that a whole people is suffering from the destructiveness of war and is facing extermination. I was profoundly influenced by the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982. I felt it was my duty, *as an artist*, to stand, through my art, beside the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

■ I accidentally met two people in a Moscow restaurant, whom I thought were from Azerbaijan. They turned out to be Palestinians. One of them had lost all of his family during the Israeli onslaught on Lebanon. I wanted to portray the barbarity of the Israeli invasion.

■ In my paintings, I try to tell the Palestinian story. I painted refugees, bereaved mothers, the death of children, Sabra and Shatila, and other themes.

■ I will continue to paint Palestinian themes. I will even paint my vision of life in an independent and free Palestine.



ARAFAT ADDRESSES EDUCATION CONFERENCE

PLO Executive Committee Chairman Yasser Arafat addressed the meeting of the 12th session of the Higher Palestinian Council for Education, Culture and Science held recently in Amman, Jordan. Arafat praised the Council for its tireless efforts to maintain Palestinian educational institutions which function under severe conditions and obstacles imposed by Israeli occupation. The Palestinian leader expressed his pleasure at the number of participants from the occupied territories and pledged that despite PLO financial difficulties, priority will be given to universities and other educational institutions under occupation. Arafat also discussed a number of issues related to the work of the Higher Council such as the open university project which is supported by UNESCO.

The participants spent two days of deliberations discussing such issues as the role of PLO institutions in meeting Palestinian educational needs, the general policy of education, the role of higher education in the Palestinian struggle for national self-determination, and coordination among various institutions involved in the sphere of education. □

PLO-SYRIAN RELATIONS IMPROVING

Informed Palestinian sources affirm that PLO-Syrian relations have been improving. The recent visit to Syria by Farouk Qaddoumi, head of the PLO's Political Department, during which he had a lengthy meeting with Syrian President Hafez Assad and other Syrian officials, was described as "positive." After his visit to Syria, in July, Mr. Qaddoumi said Syria would welcome similar visits by other members of Fateh's Central Committee. It is understood that such a visit is planned. A Central Committee delegation will visit Syria, and it will be headed by Abu Iyad (Salah Khalaf).

The recent agreement reached in Aden (Yemen) and signed in Algeria by Palestinian Resistance groups called for improved Palestinian-Syrian relations. PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat, in a recent interview on Hungarian television, characterized Qaddoumi's trip to Syria as "successful," and he said that his contacts with the president's brother, Rif'at Assad, have never been severed.

Arab press sources report that as a result of Qaddoumi's visit to Syria, Fateh's offices in Damascus have been reopened, and the payment of funds to the families of Palestinian fighters and martyrs in Syria have been resumed. □



Life Under Occupation

PRE-ELECTION SETTLEMENT BLITZ

The Likud government unleashed a wave of pre-election settlement activity in the occupied territories culminating in the ceremonial inauguration of three new sites in Gaza one day before the elections. The frantic settlement drive sparked a charge of electioneering from Labor-affiliated officials of the Settlement Department of the World Zionist Organization.

The drive began on July 15 with Science and Development Minister Yuval Ne'eman (Tehiya Party) inaugurating Adam, a settlement northeast of Jerusalem. Fifteen other settlements were established in the final week before the July 23 elections. The rush was motivated by traditional pre-election political blackmail whereby voter blocs attempt to trade their votes for specific services or benefits. The Jewish settlers have excelled in recent elections in securing funds, expropriated Arab land and official approval of new settlements during the heat of the election campaign as political parties engage in a last minute attempt to maximize their chances at the polls.

At the inauguration of the Menora settlement, Prime Minister Shamir denied charges of electioneering and pandering for the settlers vote. He said: "We should establish Jewish settlements in Judea and Samaria (West Bank) throughout the year, and also between elections. The settlement drive in the territories has nothing to do with the elections and the only connection between election day and the inauguration ceremonies is the choice we make for a settled Eretz Yisrael."

Arab weakness and indifference coupled with U.S. acquiescence contributed to this arrogant and aggressive Israeli settlement policy aimed at displacing the Palestinians and annexing their land. □

ANALYSIS... THE ILLIBERAL LIBERALS

A movement is afoot to propagate the view that, right and wrong aside, the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza has reached the point of no return. The American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research in Washington has recently published a report on Israel's policy in the occupied West Bank and Gaza, prepared by a team of Israeli researchers headed by Jerusalem's former deputy mayor Meron Benvenisti, which concludes that the occupation has become irreversible.

The report, *The West Bank Data Project*, argues that Israel's de facto annexation has transformed the Palestine question into a domestic Israeli problem which boils down to a question of how Israel, a Jewish state, can cope with the existence of a large "non-Jewish" community in its midst.

The most revealing fact about the report is that its author, usually identified as an Israeli dove, instinctively assumes that the interests of an illegally implanted Jewish minority in the West Bank and Gaza overrule and invalidate the rights of the Palestinian majority in the areas. It is a repeat of the same argument which led the Zionist movement during the first half of this century to deny the national rights of the Palestinians when they were 90 percent of the population, and to collaborate with the country's British colonial rulers in denying self-determination to the Palestinian people.

It is important to keep these facts in mind as the Labor Party makes a comeback of sorts in Israeli politics. Because it was this party, often perceived in the United States as the custodian of the "liberal" traditions of "labor Zionism," which presided over the destruction of Palestine and the creation of the Palestinian tragedy. And it was this party which made the Palestinians into a nation of refugees, razed 400 Palestinian towns and villages, occupied the rest of Palestine in 1967 and began the de facto annexation process which its apologists now defend as "irreversible" history.

Benvenisti's racist premise that it is proper for Arabs to live as a minority in a Jewish state but unthinkable for a smaller minority of Jews to live in an Arab state is only the most recent demonstration of the fact that "liberal Zionism" is a nonsensical expression. Those who lament Likud's deviation from the mythical liberal and humane precepts of Zionism are either muddleheaded, or ignorant of what Zionism is, or both. □

PALESTINIAN THEATER

(Finally, professional Palestinian theater has a home in Jerusalem. Until recently, theatrical groups in the occupied territories performed in borrowed space—in schools and other public facilities. An important event in the history of Palestinian theater in the occupied West Bank took place on May 9, when the major theatrical group, El-Hakawati, finally found, or rather created, a home for itself, as the following account relates):

The project began October 30th, 1983. The sculptor's clay was an arsoned wreck of an old abandoned cinema, leased for 10 years with money begged and borrowed.

The story of El-Hakawati Theater is a story of struggle. It is the struggle of a small group of actors to

create a home for Palestinian theatre and art, Palestinian cultural expression.

Aided by an architect and engineer who donated their time, armed with



El-Hakawati Theater in Jerusalem

a 'How to Build It' book purchased at a local store, and supplied with more than a modest share of wholly unrealistic, wildly optimistic ideas of what is possible, seven professional actors donned scruffy, tattered work clothes, raised axes, shovels, drills, and embarked on a project which any sane man in the street wouldn't attempt for the memory of his departed mother.

Naturally, there were problems. Reality is not a fairy tale story. The renovation of a crumbled shell of a building takes hard work over long hours, day after day after day.

The El-Hakawati actors had no formal training and no previous experience in carpentry work. Nonetheless, the theater group proved apt for the task.

When the building's owner renegeed on his promise and tripled the rent he would accept for the abandoned building, the actors coped. Two of them sold their cars to raise the needed revenue.

What has been accomplished in a mere six months time is staggering evidence that the will of those who have imagination, dedication, and who are willing to roll up their sleeves, can become reality.

The theater group's director is Francois Abu Salem. He reflected on the construction work one afternoon, his hair white and stiff from the morning's flying cement. His expression showed bemusement.

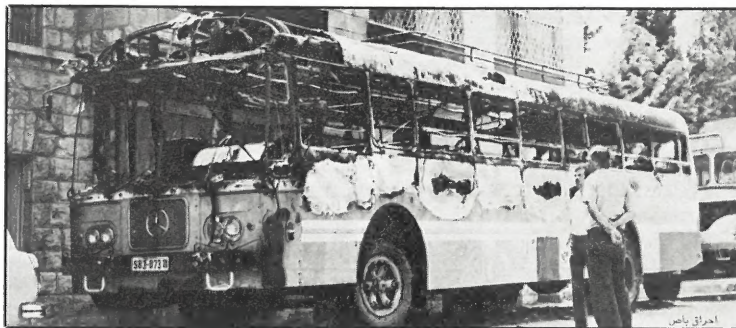
"If you don't want a wall to be here," he said, pointing his calloused finger, "you move it over there." He smiled.

"If the ceiling is too low, you simply raise it! One thing our group has learned in its work is that nothing need be permanent."

He seemed to refer with this statement, to more than just the walls and ceilings of an old abandoned cinema.

Indeed, if there is one thing that we can learn from El-Hakawati Theater Group, before they raise their first curtain on May 9th of this year, before they speak the first line of their production of *1001 Nights of a Stone Thrower*, it is that imagination combined with hard work knows no limit. □

From *Alawdah* (Jerusalem)
April 12-19, 1984



SETTLER TERRORISM

THE SECOND REICH

(The Israeli magazine *Koteret Rashit* interviewed professor Moshe David Herr, of the Hebrew University's Department of Jewish History, on the increasingly visible phenomenon of Jewish terrorism against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank. The 48-year-old Israeli professor drew an analogy between contemporary Israel and the period of the Second Temple, and the fear of opposing the fanatics in Israel. Following are excerpts from the interview:)

The similarity resides in the very combination of political terrorism and religious fanaticism. Those who murder Arab children, fire at Arab buses or try to blow up mosques on Temple Mount resemble the fanatics of the late Second Temple period in another way: in their conviction that they know exactly what God wants.

Yet another similarity: a terrible unbounded hatred of Gentiles and anyone who is not Jewish. In that respect we are now witnessing even more extreme manifestations than those of the past. Today, too, the impression is that these manifestations emanate from ephemeral marginal groups, but it seems to me that their reverberations are far greater than is generally recognized... If persons from the religious public do not openly take issue with the extremists, that is because there is great fear for their skins but little fear of heaven. The moderates among the religious public are afraid of being vilified—or worse—by the extremists. Moderates are always at a disadvantage. A moderate will not telephone an extremist in the middle of the night to pour into his ear a stream of words culled from the lexicon of the lavatory or the brothel. □

From *Koteret Rashit*
14 March 1984

ZIONIST LEGACY

The Israeli daily *Ma'ariv* (23 May 1984) published an interview with Jewish settlers whose terrorist acts against Palestinians in the West Bank are being investigated. One of the terrorists interviewed revealed that the 1980 assassination attempt against the mayors of Nablus, Ramallah, and el-Bireh, was intended to include other Palestinian personalities. The other intended victims were Ibrahim Dakkak, the president of the Engineers Society in the West Bank, Fahed Qawasmi, mayor of Hebron, and Muhammad Milhem, mayor of Halhoul.

Qawasmi and Milhem were deported by the military government prior to the execution of the assassination plan, and the terrorists could not locate Dakkak's car. Mayors Basam Shak'a of Nablus and Karim Khalaf of Ramallah were crippled when their booby-trapped cars exploded as they started off to work on the morning of June 2, 1980. Ibrahim Tawil, the mayor of el-Bireh was saved by a constituent who went to see him at home and delayed his departure to his office.

In the *Ma'ariv* interview, the Israeli terrorist revealed that his group was "inspired" by Ben-Gurion, Begin, and Shamir, who led Jewish armed militias during the British mandate in Palestine.

The terrorist said Israeli public opinion supported the assassination attempt against the Palestinian mayors. He said: "We conducted a public opinion poll after the operation and we encountered a great deal of sympathy for our operation, as if many Israeli citizens had been relieved. Rabbi Druckman praised the perpetrators in the Knesset and very senior officers were also very glad about the turn of events." □



Life Under Occupation

RACISM IN ISRAELI ELECTIONS

Israel, which is quick to denounce—and rightly so—any country which permits a political group to run candidates for public office if its ideology or program contain the slightest hint of anti-semitism, has a racist party legally competing for office. Some Israelis are bothered by this fact, and have protested to the Central Elections Committee, which is always headed by a justice of the Israeli Supreme Court.

The group in question is Rabbi Meir Kahane's "Kach" movement, some of whose members have been implicated in the recent spate of terrorist attacks against Palestinians in the occupied territories. "Kach" which openly advocates racist anti-Arab views and policies, including forcible mass expulsion, also believes in the inherent incompatibility of Zionism and democracy. It is an avowedly and unashamedly anti-democratic, violent, and racist political movement.

The election propaganda used by "Kach" and viewed on the government-owned Israeli television, includes a film described by *The Jerusalem Post* as follows: "Kahane's television clip featured headlines of Jews he alleged were murdered by Arabs, drops of blood dripping onto a tiled floor, and a cross-armed Meir Kahane, speaking against the backdrop of the Temple Mount, saying 'just let me deal with them (the Arabs)'."

The Israeli Minister of the Interior Yosef Burg, whose ministry is in charge of the Israeli police, said that Kahane's charge that an Israeli girl was murdered by Arabs is a lie. According to the *Post*, he told a conference of the Rabbinical Council of America in Jerusalem: "We believe we have discovered the murderer and he is Jewish... The charges raised are thus racial incitement." The Israeli minister would have been per-

fectly correct to call it Blood Libel. The Israeli mayor of Jerusalem, Teddy Kolleck, said Rabbi Kahane's electioneering made him "shamed and angered." The Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights wrote the chairman of the Election Committee asking how the Committee "could allow such a fascist, racist film, which incites to murder of the Arab population."

The answer to this question could be found in an election pledge recently made by Amnon Rubinstein, member of the Israeli Knesset. He promised that, if reelected, he would propose legislation "banning racist incitement" in Israel. The "oasis of democracy in the Middle East" does outlaw racist incitement against Jews, but not by them. □

ECONOMIC PRESSURE CONTINUES

A fact-finding mission by the International Labor Organization (ILO) to the Israeli-occupied territories found "little change in the condition of Arab workers." A press release by the Press Section of the UN Department of Information said that the job market in the occupied territories was still difficult and employment still largely dependent on jobs in Israel and the Arab countries. Only 16 percent of the workers find jobs in the industrial sector in the occupied territories due to a "very low level of investment," a problem compounded by "curfews, the closing of facilities with little explanation, and cumbersome restrictions on the inflow of foreign capital."

The report of the three-member commission also said that "the share of the agricultural sector in employment and domestic product in the occupied territories had continued to decline, with increasing numbers of Israeli settlers competing with Arab villages for the use of land and water resources."

What the Jewish settlements are doing, of course, is not "competing" with Arab villages. They are taking over the land and water resources confiscated by the Israeli occupation authorities. Through Jewish settlements, the Israelis are uprooting and displacing the indigenous Palestinian society. □

THE POT AND THE KETTLE

Rabbi Meir Kahane, the American-Israeli leader of the fanatical "Kach" movement, which has been implicated in some of the recent terrorist attacks against Palestinians in the occupied West Bank, recently attacked the Israeli government for the "crackdown" on settler terrorists. In an article he wrote in the *Jewish Press* (May 11, 1984), he in effect said that the pot is calling the kettle black.

Rabbi Kahane wrote: "On September 17, 1948, Yitzhak Shamir, head of the Stern Group (also known as the Stern Gang by people who opposed its killings), planned and ordered the assassination of UN Mediator Count Folke Bernadotte... The killing of Bernadotte took place at the time that a legal Jewish government in a sovereign Jewish state was in existence. That Jewish government—the Labor Party of Ben Gurion—made mass arrests of every Sternist they could find, but, wonder of wonders—within a short time—a number of the Sternists had managed to 'escape' from prison while all the others received a general amnesty within less than five months. Not one of the Sternists ever was punished."

Rabbi Kahane blames the "killer of Bernadotte" for punishing today's Jewish terrorists. He is being a little too impatient, because Sternist Shamir is already hinting that his government plans to grant amnesty to Kahane's own fanatics. □

PALESTINIAN FLAG: A CRIME

Three Arabs of the villages of Sakhnin and Arrabeh in the Galilee were handed prison sentences and fines for waving Palestinian flags on Land Day and at a memorial service for the victims of the Sabra and Shatila massacre. The heaviest penalty was meted out to Khalid Salah of Sakhnin who was sentenced to seven months in jail and fined 250,000 shekels (\$1000). □

NAJAH UNIVERSITY SHUT

On July 30, 1984, Israeli occupation authorities closed down Najah University, the largest Palestinian educational institution in the West Bank. The university was ordered shut for an unprecedented period of four months.

Israeli military officers confirmed that security forces raided the Najah campus to end the Palestine Week Folklore Exhibit deemed "hostile and inflammatory" by officials of the Civil Administration. The college was closed for three months in 1983.

Palestinian sources in Nablus said the Israeli soldiers closed down the cultural exhibit sponsored by the student organization at the university and confiscated all the books and artifacts on display. Ten students were arrested after Israeli soldiers raided the offices of the Student Council on campus. □

ESCAPE FROM ANSAR

Three Lebanese prisoners escaped from Ansar detention camp which the Israeli occupation forces maintain in the south of Lebanon for Lebanese and Palestinian political prisoners. The three escapees held a press conference in Beirut on July 7, and said that the detention camp, which was supposed to be closed down as a part of the PLO-Israeli POW exchange last November, has 560 prisoners. They said that there are 75 Palestinians among the prisoners, and the rest are Lebanese patriots.

The escaped prisoners said that the Israelis torture prisoners during interrogation, that water in the camp is rationed, that food is inadequate and bad, and that medical care is practically nonexistent.

The Israelis have violated two important provisions of the November 1983 POW exchange agreement with the PLO. They reneged on the release of a number of prisoners, including Ziad Abu Ein (for story, see *Palestine Perspectives*, January 1984), and they have not closed down the notorious detention center. □



Car rams al-Aqsa gate

MOSQUE ATTACKED ...AGAIN

News from occupied Jerusalem say that Jewish extremists attempted to crash into al-Aqsa mosque in Jerusalem on 12 July by using a car to ram one of its ancient heavy gates. The attempt was foiled by Palestinian guards, but the mosque's gate suffered heavy damage.

The Israeli police, as usual, attempted to minimize the seriousness of this act of fanaticism. As usual, they attributed it to a "mentally sick" Israeli. Eyewitnesses reported that a group of settlers followed the car to invade the grounds of the mosque after its gate had been torn down by the collision.

It has become customary for the Israeli authorities to attribute such repeated attacks on religious places to "disturbed" persons. They did so when in 1968 the mosque's historic dome was burned down, and again when an American-Israeli, Allen Goodman, went on a shooting rampage two years ago killing two worshippers and wounding 62 others.

In a statement condemning this most recent act of Israeli fanaticism, the Islamic *Waqf*, which administers the mosque, documented hundreds of acts by Israeli individuals and groups to burn, vandalize, desecrate,

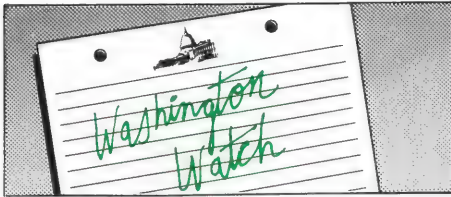
seize, shoot, and bomb the mosque and the worshippers since Israel occupied the area in 1967. □

TEACHER GUILTY OF READING

A Palestinian school teacher from the occupied Gaza Strip was arrested by the Israeli authorities for possessing, in his home library, apparently dangerous books. Mohammed Hassan Alawar was arrested on June 10, two weeks after his home was invaded and searched for "incriminating" books.

His Israeli lawyer, Felicia Langer, said that the books seized by the Israeli military included her own book *These Are My Brothers* which is freely sold in Israel. They also included some Marxist books, and copies of the Arabic-language magazine *al-Baydir* which is published in Jerusalem and available on newsstands.

Alawar told his lawyer that he was being punished for his political views. "I am completely innocent," he said. "My only crime is that I dared to read books in my house which are on sale in the open market." □



ARAB LEAGUE ASSAILS CONFERENCE ON TERRORISM

Washington was recently the site of a highly-publicized conference on "state-sponsored terrorism." The conference was sponsored by the Jonathan Institute, a "privately financed" Israeli foundation. The speakers list included an array of "experts" on terrorism in addition to several public officials from Israel and the United States. The conference featured an abundance of Zionist rhetoric and anti-Arab, anti-Islamic propaganda coupled with several official statements summarizing U.S. and Israeli policies.

The official Arab reaction to this conference came from the offices of the Arab League. Ambassador Clovis Maksoud of the League of Arab States assailed the conference describing it as "a shameless cover-up for institutional terrorism and a deliberate attempt to provide Israel's apologists and advocates with a platform to peddle half-truths, innuendos and distortions."

Mr. Maksoud explained that the conference sought to achieve the following objectives:

1. To imply that Israel is at the forefront in combating terrorism and to remove lingering questions about the proven history of Zionist and Israeli sponsored terrorism.

2. To use semantical acrobacy in order to twist the real and universal terms of reference as they apply to what constitutes real terrorism. . . .

3. To absolve Israel from its wanton invasion of Lebanon and to project this atrocious aggression and the brutality that it entailed against Palestinian refugees and Lebanese civilians as a model for "combating terrorism" and a panacea for "preemptive strikes."

4. To deflect public attention in the U.S. and the Western World from focusing on Israel's contempt of international law, Geneva Conventions, UN resolutions and even U.S. requests such as freezing the settle-

COMMENTARY... WAITING FOR GODOT

The Arabs generally unquestioningly accept the myth that the presidential election season is a period of hibernation in U.S. foreign policy. What they fail to realize is that, at least in the area of Middle East policy, the election period is one of intensified activity.

The reason for this fact is that, among all questions of foreign policy, the Middle East is treated as domestic policy in the United States, due to the presence of a large, well-financed, and well-organized domestic constituency—the U.S. Zionists—who are totally and almost exclusively devoted to the service of a foreign power: the state of Israel. This is the reason why, although it is generally true that foreign policy is put on hold during an election year, the same is not true of U.S. policy on the Middle East.

On the contrary, an election campaign is a time for the reaffirmation of old positions and the fabrication of new commitments on behalf of Israel. So, while the Arabs wait for the verdict of the people, the Zionists are busy creating debts and extracting pledges from the candidates of both major parties. By the time the Arabs show up to congratulate the winner, he is already mortgaged to Israel's friends.

Furthermore, the Arab regimes unthinkingly emulate other states when they wait for the outcome of the elections in the United States. What they do not understand is that what is logical for others to do, is not logical for them, because the two major parties do differ in their policies on many foreign issues (e.g., Central America), but they do not differ on their Middle East policies.

For both reasons, the Arab states betray political naivete (to give them the benefit of the doubt) when they emulate other states by waiting for the results of the U.S. presidential elections.

We do not suggest that American democracy is incapable of producing leaders and governments with enough moral courage to voice their own understanding of the U.S. national interest and to follow their own convictions in the pursuit of justice in the Middle East. We only suggest that the Arabs should not be surprised if it does not happen by waiting, rather than working, for it to happen. □

ments and accepting the Reagan plan.

5. To inextricably link the quest for Palestinian self-determination... with violence and portray the Palestinian movement as if it is inflicted by an ideology of violence and addicted to the use of terror.

6. To numb world conscience and blindfold its insight from uncovering the brutality of Israeli occupation, the terrorism of its mainstream vigilantism, and the blitzkrieg characteristic of its invasions, operations and expansionist designs.

Furthermore, Ambassador Maksoud expressed his astonishment at the fact that several U.S. officials treated this conference as a proper platform to discuss a serious challenge to world order and harmony, and thus consciously or unconsciously abetting this Israeli-sponsored campaign to cover-up its own policies of aggression, expansion, racism and terrorism. □

ZIONIST SEAL OF APPROVAL

American Zionists suggest that a nod from them is a must for those who entertain ambitions in American public life. After Mondale named Geraldine Ferraro as his running mate, the B'nai B'rith International issued a press release suggesting that she, like Jean Kirkpatrick before her, rose to prominence after receiving an invitation to address a B'nai B'rith forum. The news release was titled: "Ferraro, Kirkpatrick Find BBI Forum Leads Women to Prominence."

The *Washington Jewish Week* (July 19, 1984) quoted a B'nai B'rith official saying: "It appears that if you are a woman who wishes to become prominent, then you must be invited first to address the B'nai B'rith forum." □

NEO-McCARTHYISM

(The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), accused the Reagan administration of seeking "to stifle political dissent over its foreign policies." Under the pretext of fighting "terrorism," the administration is engaged in "a new form of McCarthyism.")

The American-Arab civil rights group, in a petition it circulated on 16 July 1984 in opposition to "anti-terrorist" legislation introduced in Congress, said the proposed legislation is vaguely worded and grants the executive branch sweeping powers which pose "a serious threat to our civil liberties." Following is the text of the ADC petition which is being sent to members of the congressional committees which are considering Reagan's "anti-terrorist" legislation):

Under the guise of combatting "terrorism," the Reagan administration has introduced in Congress two bills (S2625 and S2626) which pose a serious threat to our constitutionally guaranteed rights of free speech, association and political dissent.

The first of these, S2625, allocates an unprecedented and unreviewable reward (up to \$500,000) for information on terrorists. Such rewards are likely to result in serious abuses because of the unreliability of political informers. The second, S2626, would make it illegal for an American citizen to provide "support services" for any country or political group which the Secretary of State has designated as "terrorist." In its current form S2626 gives the Secretary of State sole discretion to decide which countries or political groups are "terrorists." Furthermore, the bill provides no procedures for appealing an official designation as "terrorist."

What is of greatest concern is the failure of the legislation to define "terrorism" and the vagueness of the definition of "support." Should S2626 become law, many forms of humanitarian assistance to a political group or foreign government which the Secretary of State has designated as "terrorist" could be construed as a violation of the law.

While modifications to S2626 are currently being considered which may delete from the legislation the designation of groups, and which will require the Secretary of State to consult with Congress before he designates a foreign government as "terrorist," we firmly believe any legislation which fails to define "terrorism" or "support services" is a threat to our civil liberties.

The Reagan administration has adopted policies which affect adversely a broad range of human rights. The rhetoric of "anti-terrorism" has become the administration's weapon in its campaign against political dissent, especially in matters of foreign policy and international human rights. With the pretext of "combating terrorism," government agencies have been harassing organizations, religious leaders and private individuals in the peace movement for lawful and constitutional activities. Members of the religious community, working with Salvadoran refugees, for example, have been visited by FBI agents and warned not to continue their humanitarian assistance program.

"Anti-terrorism" is becoming a new form of McCarthyism. It is being used as a scare tactic to chill free speech and association. Our democratic processes are threatened by this climate of fear. The aim of S2625 and S2626 is to exploit this fear in order to stifle legitimate political dissent. We urge you to oppose S2625 and S2626. □

DRUZE INFORMATION OFFICE IN D.C.

The American Druze Public Affairs Committee (AD-PAC) established a News Information Office in Washington, D.C. to prepare daily broadcasts on Lebanese developments based on information received from Beirut. The Office will also administer a Speakers Bureau and make the necessary arrangements for interviews with various Lebanese officials in the U.S. and Lebanon.

The Lebanon News Brief is available by dialing: 202/822-0104 (English) and 202/822-1016 (Arabic). □

BIG BROTHER

The New York-based Zionist group which calls itself "Americans for a Safe Israel" is lobbying the Federal Communications Commission to revoke the licenses of six television affiliates of NBC in the state of Pennsylvania. The petition filed with FCC charges that the television stations concerned are guilty of "presenting distorted coverage of the war in Lebanon."

The six stations being hounded by the Zionist group are **KYW-TV** in Philadelphia, **WPXI-TV** in Pittsburgh, **WICU-TV** in Erie, **WJAC-TV** in Johnstown, **WGAL-TV** in Lancaster, and **WBRE-TV** in Scranton.

Someone should point out to the Zionist censors that if the American media stops "presenting distorted coverage" of the Middle East, Israel would have very few friends in this country. □

TOURIST-TERRORIST

In addition to its traditional role of money and weapons supplier to Israel, the United States has also become an important supplier of citizens. Actually, American Zionists are the last remaining ideologically-motivated immigrants to Israel. A disproportionate number of them become fanatical settlers and armed vigilantes in the occupied West Bank and Gaza. American Zionists, like Rabbi Meir Kahane, are among the most extremist leaders of Jewish terrorism in the occupied territories.

A recent disclosure about settler terrorism indicates that even American Jewish tourists are recruited by Israeli terrorists. According to the *Chicago Tribune* (24 July), a Jewish tourist from Chicago, 19 year old Matthew Liebowitz, had participated in the armed attack against an Arab bus carrying laborers going to work near Ramallah (see story in *Palestine Perspectives*, April 1984). One hopes that the newly-proclaimed Reagan campaign against terrorism would provoke him to have a few words with Israel. □



NORTH AMERICAN REGIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

Reported by *Laila Jammal*

CYPRUS WORLD FAIR

Palestine was one of the participants in the 1984 Cyprus International Fair for Trade and Industry. The Palestinian wing included Palestinian handicrafts, costumes, and posters depicting PLO struggle for Palestinian national rights. The Fair, which opened from May 25 to June 10, was launched by Cyprus president Spyros Kyprianou, who was accompanied by government ministers and ambassadors from participating states.

Palestine has been one of the most faithful participants in the Cyprus International Fair, and has maintained a wing since the annual Fair began in 1976. Other participants in the Fair included the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan, both East and West Germany, Greece, Czechoslovakia, Syria, and Sudan. □

JAPANESE LADY CONTRIBUTES TO PRCS

A Japanese lady contributed one million yen to the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS) to be used for the treatment of wounded Palestinian children. Mrs. Marakami made this contribution in memory of her father who had been a friend and supporter of the Palestinian Revolution. □

WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION

The World Health Organization (WHO) held its 37th session in Geneva last May. Ninety-eight members, including the PLO, participated in the meeting. Dr. Fathi Arafat, President of the Palestine Red Crescent Society (PRCS), represented the PLO, and informed the international organization of the problems of health care faced by the Palestinian people living under Israeli occupation.

Dr. Arafat said that in spite of the difficult conditions under which Palestinian society is forced to live, the PLO has managed to provide health services to the Palestinians in the diaspora through 35 hospitals, 100 clinics, and 15 mother and infant care centers administered by the PRCS. He also said that the PRCS trains nurses and medical technicians.

Dr. Arafat expressed the Palestinian people's gratitude to the humanitarian commitment of the many doctors and nurses from various countries who volunteered their services to the PRCS during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the savage siege of Beirut.

The WHO condemned the Israeli occupation, affirmed the Palestinian people's right to establish their own health institutions, decided to monitor health conditions in occupied Palestine, and deplored Israel's obstruction of the establishment of WHO health centers in the occupied territories. □

The first North American Symposium for non-governmental organizations on the question of Palestine was held at the United Nations Headquarters in New York, on June 25-27, 1984.

The three-day symposium, sponsored by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, was attended by 65 non-governmental organizations from the United States and Canada. Some 20 experts, mainly academicians, political and religious leaders, and representatives of non-governmental organizations had been invited to address the symposium.

In a statement delivered at the opening session, H.E. Massap Sarre (Senegal), chairman of the Palestine Rights Committee, emphasized the important role of the non-governmental organizations in the overall effort to find a just and lasting peaceful solution to the Palestinian question. He observed that until there was such a settlement, peace would not prevail in the Middle East.

Mr. Zuhdi Terzi, Permanent Observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization, said at the opening session, that a just solution to the Palestine question was "*sine qua non* for a comprehensive, just and lasting settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict."

The prime concern, Mr. Terzi said, should be focused on the fate and destiny of almost 5 million Palestinians and how to redress the injustice that has afflicted their lives and well-being. He appealed to the symposium to increase the awareness in the United States and Canada of the social and economic burdens of the Palestinian people resulting from continued Israeli occupation and persistent Israeli policy of denying the fundamental right of the Palestinians to return to their homes.

Many prominent speakers participated in the symposium. Among them, professor Ibrahim Abu Lughod, professor Edward Said, professor Elia Zureik, Rev. Don Wagner (PHRC), former Senator James Abourezk (ADC), former Congressman Pete McClosky, Dr. Naseer Aruri and Dr. Abbas Al Nasrawi (AAUG), Audry Shabbas (Najda), Senator Heath MacQuarri of Canada, Cecilia McCall (Women's International Democratic Federation), Mark Lane and Linda Huber (National Lawyers Guild), Hani Sanbar (Canadian Arab Federation) and Gail Pressberg (American Friends Service Committee).

At the closing session, a committee which included the chairperson of each session was appointed to draft recommendations to be presented to the Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Javier Perez De Cuellar.

The final declaration of the symposium called upon the peoples and governments of the United States and Canada to take definitive steps to secure a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Arab-Israeli conflict, the core of which is the question of Palestine. □

“QUOTE UNQUOTE”

“Occupation does corrupt. How many of us are aware, for example, that nine [Israeli] military governors have been dismissed...for acts of corruption?”

“Protracted military occupation of a large population with aspirations of its own has given rise to a new generation of guardians of the law for whom intoxication with power takes precedence over preservation of the law.”

Yoel Marcus
Ha'aretz
1 June 1984

“Whoever wants to make peace with us can have it with our present border, and if they do not like them—hard luck. What the Likud offers in return for peace is peace.”

Ariel Sharon
Israeli Cabinet Minister
Jerusalem Post
15-21 July 1984

“The young [Israeli] people, who were born into the post-1967 Greater Israel, are making our worst nightmares come true.”

Amnon Dankner
Chicago Tribune
10 June 1984

“31.8 percent of Israeli citizens—one out of three—supports the murder of Arabs by illegal Jewish underground groups.”

Sever Plutzker
Al-Hamishmar
28 June 1984

“There is a rule for Arab Israelis and one for Jewish Israelis.”

Ya'acov Arnon
Knesset Candidate
Chicago Tribune
10 June 1984

“Israeli newspapers...worry that the existence of a Jewish underground...is not just a “deviation,” as P.M. Yitzhak Shamir has claimed, but is symptomatic of a social trend under which the perceived right to all of the “Land of Israel” overrides civil and even international law.”

Timothy J. McNulty
Chicago Tribune
10 June 1984

“Likud is the ugly face of Israel. Labor is its made-up face, which looks beautiful to the Western world. Let's see what Labor looks like when it assumes power and takes off its makeup.”

Jordanian official
Boston Globe
22 July 1984

“Israel is really a democracy for Jews. For Arabs, that's a problem.”

Rabbi Arlan Weinstein
Chicago Tribune
10 June 1984

“There is a literature of the absurd, inspired by Meron Benvenisti and others, which tells us that the presence of 7,000 Jewish families in Judea and Samaria [West Bank] among the 1,200,000 Palestine Arabs virtually seals the destiny of the area and destroys every option except incorporation into Israel.”

Abba Eban
The Jerusalem Post
22 June 1984

“Whoever wants to annex the occupied territories must either resort to Rabbi Kahane's solutions of genocide or mass deportation, or apartheid, like in South Africa.”

Shulamit Aloni (MK)
The Jerusalem Post
15-21 July 1984

“I favor democracy for Jews, not Arabs; a Zionist cannot be a democrat.”

Rabbi Meir Kahane
Interview, *Hadashot*
18 June 1984

“The South African regime, presently led by people who were active collaborators with Nazi Germany and, therefore, strongly anti-Semitic, has now become the closest ally of Zionist Israel.”

Mfanafuthi Makatini
African National Congress
Palestine Focus (Interview)
July 1984

“A policy of ruling a hostile people and settling in their midst could only be carried out by force, and it was not altogether remarkable that private vigilantism should follow official military force.”

Anthony Lewis
The New York Times
22 July 1984

“There remains, nonetheless, the continuing and troubling spectacle of the United States' being a party to Israel's denial of political rights to the Palestinians. One does not have to exaggerate the disaster that may befall American interests as a consequence in order to oppose the policy that Likud has been diligently pursuing over the last seven years. The policy is wrong. American acquiescence in it is wrong. The policy cannot be justified—or ignored.”

Editorial
Washington Post
25 July 1984

**RABBI KAHANE:
A ZIONIST CANNOT BE
DEMOCRATIC**

(Rabbi Meir Kahane, founder of the Jewish Defense League in America and now representative of the fascist "Kach" movement in the Israeli Knesset, has two related convictions which he never tires of proclaiming: that democracy and Zionism do not mix, and that all the Arabs should be expelled, by force if necessary, from Palestine.

*The Israeli newspaper **Hadashot** published an interview with Rabbi Kahane on 18 June 1984. We hereby take the risk of offending your taste by bringing you the following excerpts from his ravings):*

Q: Your political fate has been decided: what do you say?

A: Now I will put forward the main issue of the contest, namely the struggle between Zionism and democracy.

Q: Didn't the Committee compare your list with the Nazi Party?

A: All the rulings of the Bible, the Gemara [Talmud] and the religious judges support me. If I'm racist, then they have a problem with Judaism and they should ban it.

Q: They said in the Committee that you constantly violate the law.

A: So what? Deputy Minister Dov Shilansky once tried to blow up an embassy—he didn't violate the law? Today, he's a deputy minister. And Shamir wasn't once considered a criminal and a fascist?



Gunslinger Rabbi Kahane

Q: Would you be prepared to shut them [Palestinians] up in concentration camps if they refuse to leave?

A: I don't think that will be necessary because they'll agree to accept compensation and go. If they refuse, I'll put them in trucks, drop them at the border and all will be well for Israel.

Q: Would you use actual physical violence?

A: I'm ready to do whatever the IDF [Israel Defence Force] does in battle. An Arab will be ordered to leave. If he goes, fine! If not, we'll use force.

Q: What kind of government would you like to see here?

A: I want a government of the Tora and the Halacha [Jewish religious law]. I favor democracy for Jews, not Arabs; a Zionist cannot be a democrat. □

"I DON'T BELIEVE IT"

I don't believe it! I always thought that if there was one thing we could rely on in this country [Israel], it was our judicial system—but what about that judge in the Jerusalem District Court sentencing Noam Inon to 18 months' imprisonment for delivering 50 mines to the Jewish terrorists!

The judge said that Inon is 27 years old, a good boy, studies Tora, has three kids, and he didn't do it for money.

It's appalling—fifty mines! As if they were 50 chocolate bars. And an Arab kid in the West Bank can get 20 years in jail for throwing a single stone....

Then there was that Arab youth who got a year in jail for slapping a Jewish boy who was hiking on Arab-owned land near Kfar Tavor [in Galilee]. And the judge stated that by his act the defendant had harmed the fabric of good relations between Jews and Arabs. That year in jail will do a lot for the fabric of good relations!

But for God's sake, I keep thinking about that good boy, Noam Inon. If an Arab had transported 50 mines—or one grenade—what would he get? And that show of innocence—he "didn't realize" he might cause damage—as though he thought the mines would be used as vases to decorate the settlers' homes!

Sylvie Keshet

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